

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
LIFE and WRITINGS
OF

702.74
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G—: Lord Bishop of S—m.

BEING
A Third LETTER to his Lordship,
Occasioned by his INTRODUCTION
to the Third Volume of the History of the
REFORMATION.

CONTAINING,
I. A Defence of the CLE GY of the Church of
England.
II. A Discovery of wha RSONS are most
likely to turn Roman Cath
III. Mr. WHARTON's Cha cleared, from the
Unjust Aspersions cast upon

By the AUTHOR of the Two former
LETTERS.

Pudebit, sed non erubescet.

LONDON:

Printed for E. CURLL, at the Dial and Bible over-
against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1714.
(Price 1 s.)

THE HISTORY OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON
FROM ITS INSTITUTION

IN THE YEAR 1660

UNTIL THE PRESENT
TIME

BY JOHN WALLIS
M.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME THE FIRST

LONDON

Printed by J. Streater, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard

1705

Mr. CURLL,

YOUR frequent Notices to the World, that I had a design to Write the full and entire History of the Life, Actions, and Writings of the present Bp. of Sarum, has been of very great Use to me; but because I would gladly have that Work to be as full, and perfect as may be, I do now send you some Remarks upon the Introduction to the Third Volume of the History of the Reformation, which I intend as a Preliminary to my Greater Undertaking. Which I desire you to Print in such a Form as is most likely to make it spread into more Hands than the Gazettes generally reach to, that so it may move them that can furnish me with other Materials, to help me finish this Work with great Advantage, for which I am ready to make them all the returns that are in my Power. The Memoirs which I have already in my Hands for this purpose are very numerous, and the Encouragement which I daily receive from the Learned World have engaged me so far, that I hope to put it to the Press in a very short Time: The greatest
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difficulties which I meet with are in the first Part of my History, I being obliged for that entirely to rely upon some Scotch Manuscripts, or which is worse, the Word of the Person whose Life I Write, this you know the Criticks will certainly affirm to be Partial. A very worthy Person in the University of Geneva has sent me a Copious Collection of Particulars which relate to his Trans-marine Conduct; but upon Condition not to name Him, which I will observe Religiously, because I promised it, tho' it is not easie to my self, since I may not own to whom I owe so great an Obligation. I wish some Casuist would resolve me what to do in this Case, whether to break my Word, or preserve my Gratitude. Pray go to Mr. Tonson, and desire him to inquire amongst his Friends, whether a Passage out of LIVY, or TACITUS, would be most proper to prefix to this Pamphlet or whether I may not be allowed to use one that has been used a Hundred times before.

I am, Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,

York, December the 10th.

G. S.

A T H I R D
LETTER
 TO THE
Bishop of Salisbury.

My LORD;

I Had it in my Thoughts to have writ to your Lordship some time ago upon account of *your Introduction* to the Third Volume of *the History of the Reformation*, but having at first designed to produce some Original Papers in defence of what I should urge against some Particulars contained therein, and finding that I should exceed the limits of my former Letters, I deferred that design to a future opportunity. At the same time, I thought that your Lordship would interpret it as a piece of disrespect, if I did not take notice that you had appear-

ed in *Public* again; and your Bookfeller having intimated, that a Letter from me would be of a particular Advantage to the Sale of your Books, I could not help addressing to your Lordship on this Occasion. Beside, *my Lord*, it was industriously reported that I was *Dead*, upon that supposition I knew that you would certainly be severe upon me, and Answer me (as your Lordship has a very good Talent that way) after my Decease, in the same manner as you have done many other Persons. This Report went so far, *my Lord*, that I had an Advertisement put into my hands the other day in the following Words: *Whereas Mr. G. S. who used to Answer the Bishop of Sarum, has not been heard of for a considerable Time, and is supposed to be Dead; This is to give Notice, That I Gregory Misofarum am the only Man who can Answer the said Bishop, and that I will constantly do the same.* Who this Gregory is, or whether he has in any manner performed his Promise I can't tell; but I thought I could not do less than assure your *Lordship*, that I still bear the same esteem I ever did to your Person and Writings, and will not suffer any of them to pass into the World without that little Approbation which I am able to give them. Your

Your Lordship is pleased very freely to acquaint us in the Title Page (which I take to be as good as any part of your Book) that you will “ certainly enjoy one “ Advantage from your Labours, turning “ your Eyes from the View of wicked Persons that *this Age* has beheld *for so many Years*, while you are wholly intent upon “ those *Monuments of Antiquity* which you “ intend to Publish. This you tell Mr. Churchill (for we all confess our Secrets to our Booksellers) *so perfectly agrees with your present Thoughts, that you cannot express them better, nor more truly, than those Words do.* I do agree with your Lordship too, that we have had sad Views of evil Times, and evil Persons too for many years; but I desire your Lordship to inform us whither you speak as a Divine, or an Historian? If the latter, as is most probable, you include abundance of your own Friends under that Reflection, whose Characters indeed in the last, and this Reign, will bear all the Blackness that an Enemy’s Pen can lay on them, and a Friend’s can never wipe off, or excuse. Great Men indeed they were, some are not, and some to their Ignominy still are: Could your Lordship mean these?

You

You had better, *my Lord*, confess this mistake than persist in it ; we know what Term of Years you confine your *tot per annos* to, or else we must think, what would be too great an Injury to such Parts, That you had no meaning at all. If you really mean the present Times, as it is more than likely you do ; What is there in them so offensive to your Lordship's View, to make you retire into Antiquity, and *bury your self* in *Histories of Reformation*, rather than look abroad, and partake in the Satisfaction and Quiet of your Fellow Subjects ? Could you, by shutting your own Eyes, prevent others seeing and observing you, I must own that then indeed your Policy were good, and your Conduct justifiable : This would well become my Lord of *Sarum*.

But to enter upon the Scheme of your Lordship's Work. This consists of a long Narrative of the Motives you had to engage in the Design at first, the Encouragements you met with, and the Prejudices that obstructed you in that Undertaking ; and herein I cannot but take notice of *One* very remarkable, the Repetition of which, looks as if you were pleased with the Character you relate to be given of
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your self. You say, That a *Great Prelate*, had represented you to Sir John Cotton, as being no Friend to the Prerogative of the Crown, nor to the Constitution of our Church. How, my Lord, was this Discovery made so very early, And was it a *Great Prelate* that made it? One whose Advancement to so high a Station in the Church, must incline People to think he was tender of its Rites and Principles; one who could not easily be induced to make such Imputations but upon good Grounds, we may fairly suppose. It was an exquisite Penetration in the *Roman*, who pronounced, that there were many *Marius's* in young *Cesar*, before his Age was capable of any endeavours to subvert the Constitution of his Country, when, as yet, he was neither *Prator* nor *Consul*. It is now near Forty Years ago, that your Lordship was suspected, by your own Confession, to be no Friend (it seems) to any part of our Constitution, Civil or Ecclesiastical; and I think you were not, at that time, in any *Noted Station* in either of them. I will not draw any Consequence from this Relation concerning your self; but I think, if I was to have writ my own History (as it is the Fashion to do now a Days)

a Days) I should have suppressed that Passage. I wish, however, the same Ingenuity that made you so Impartial to the Living, had extended to the Memory of the Dead, and that your Lordship had not disturbed, with a peculiar *Sharpness of Stile*, the Ashes of the *Young*, the *Learned*, and the *Pious* Mr. *Wharton*.

This is a sort of Triumph, which your Lordship seems to delight in, a Safe one indeed we must own it is ; but whether Honourable or not, in a Moral or Divine Sense, let any one but the Aggressor determine. If it is baseness to contend with the Weak, if it is Cowardice to insult the Maimed, what Name is bad enough for the Traducer of those that Sleep? for the Unprovoked Injurer of Him, who cannot Answer for Himself? for the Persecutor of the only Valuable thing, a good Man can leave behind him, his Reputation? But how has Mr. *Wharton* deserved this? Or how could even the Bishop of *Sarum*, think this a treatment proper for his worst Enemies? The Truth is, Mr. *Wharton* had Published a *Specimen of some Errors and Defects*, in the History of the Reformation of the Church of *England*, wherein he had discovered abundance of Mistakes, Falsties, and plain

and plain Blunders of the Historian. These the Author not being able to Refute, writes a Letter to the present Bishop of Worcester, and charges Mr. Wharton to bring forth all that he pretended to have reserved, at that time, for till that was done, he would not enter upon the Examination of That Specimen. I would fain know, if this can be reckoned an Answer to Mr. Wharton, or any way diminish the Truth of the Remarks contained in his Book, or rather, that it is not a mark of Self-conviction in the Historian, that he could not reply to the purpose, and therefore very wisely deferred it, till his Antagonist was Dead. If indeed this had been a Speculative Controversy, that depended upon a chain of Arguments, and the whole was to urge a single Conclusion, your Reason, *my Lord*, might be accounted Good ; but as it depends upon so many Matters of Fact, which you are proved to have mistaken, or mis-represented, you are as much concerned to clear your self if they were only Two, as if they were as many Hundreds. Shall an Historian say, because you don't write *Folio's* as well as I, therefore I cannot think my self Obligated to vindicate myself from the Errors that I have committed in

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those

those *Folio's*? Such an Historian, whatever he may Write upon that Subject, I am sure is incapable of *Reformation*.

But, *my Lord*, as to the point it self which you insist upon, the Reserve, which you Affirm *Mr. Wharton* said he had, I cannot find that he, in his Book (which I shall shew *your Lordship* that I have read over) seems to intimate that he had any regular Collections of this Nature; he only modestly says, that he does *not pretend to have discovered all the Errors and Defects of it, and that he had considered only that part which is purely Ecclesiastical, and not all that; and it was to be feared, there were equal Mistakes in the Civil History* †. After such an Ingenuous Confession, Who can think it Decent or Generous, to urge a Man, whom you *own to have lain Sick at that Time*, to farther Discoveries, before you had Confuted any one that he had offered to the Publick? Yet you are not contented to blemish the Character of *Mr. Wharton* in general, but are pleased to call his *Remarks, some Trifling and Minute Differences, about some Dates of Transactions of no Importance*. Had they been of no Importance, you would certainly never

† See, *Mr. Wharton's Specimen*, 161.

never have taken Notice of them in your History; and if they were, your Lordship ought to have acknowledged the Correction. I have now before me Mr. *Wharton's* Book, which is so far from being made up of Trifles, that any Impartial Judge, upon an Examination, I believe, will esteem it, the most proper Book, to be read with your Lordship's History, or the Reader must inevitably fall into a multitude of material Errors. There are about an Hundred Mistakes, Mis-representations, or both, which this Author has Animadverted upon, which you will never get rid of, but by a Recantation; And who so proper to Write a Book of *Retractions*, as my Lord Bishop of *Sarum*? It will be nothing to the purpose, for your Lordship to pretend to Recriminate, by finding *Fault* with his *Anglia Sacra*, and returning to a way of Vouching, which you your self have Condemned. But the worst is still behind, which is, your Assigning Mr. *Wharton's* Reflections to private Resentments, and loading him with the vilest Imputations of a Spiteful, Sordid, and Interested Writer; and then bringing in one † *Dead*
C 2 *Man,*

† Mr. Chiswell the Bookseller.

Man, to Vouch for the black Insinuations you cast upon *another*. It was a shame to the Age indeed, that so Great and Worthy a Man as Mr. *Wharton*, wanted Preferment; but if it be true, that he made his Application to Dr. *Burnet* for it, he deserved the Fate he met with, to Die without any.

Something more permit me to add, *my Lord*, concerning the Obligations you are under to this very Person, whom you have so liberally abused; since I find you are Indebted to him, even for some Parts of your *Third Volume*, he having before hinted at, and given some Originals of the Transactions of Queen *Mary's* Reign *, the Honour of which I perceive you take to your self, and according to your usual Modesty, Entitle *New Discoveries*.

But it is not only the Fate of this unfortunate Gentleman to fall under your Lordship's Censure, others of greater Name have their share in your Asperities, nay, all who cannot agree in the Perfection of your Work, or do not question the Abilities of your Antagonists, are very kindly put together, under the Reflection of an ill-natured Cabal, *Who art thou, O Man,*

* Vide, Mr. *Wharton's* Specimen 8vo. p. 173.

Man, that condemnest another? What better Pretensions to Truth, and Integrity, has your Lordship than the rest of Mankind? Or will the opposer of *Infallibility* in others, assume that Title to Himself? All Discoveries beside your own are *minute, below your Notice, contemptible* in the Opinion of some good Judges. Does your Lordship mean only your self, or a *good-natured Cabal*? At the same Time your own *Errors and Defects* are *inconsiderable*, I wish they were so both in a Moral and Historical sense; but there are Men whose *Errata's* will make a Book almost as large as the *History of the Reformation*: I name them not, for I love not to transmit the Remembrance of such things to Posterity. This same Posterity, my Lord, which you seem to bear so deep a respect for, has a sort of Right which I hope your Lordship will have a regard to in your future Writings, and that is, of examining into, and Judging the Merit of Authors impartially: This will compare their Writings with each other, and their Lives and Professions with their Writings, and if it finds *Contradictions, Inconsistencies, and Absurdities* in any Parts, will certainly pass sentence, and condemn the Author. They will be so curious as
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to enquire why *Two Folio's* were written in the space of as many years, and a *Third* on the same Subject appeared after an Intermission of *Three, and Thirty?* This will not be reckoned a *trifling and minute difference of the Date of a Transaction*, but the Motives will be searched into, and if they be found to be *Party-Design*, the effects of fullness or spleen, *Posterity* will have no respect of Persons, and treat a Bishop, with no more Ceremony than some Bishops do the Church. Whither out of Fear that they should thus mistake, or in Confirmation that it is no mistake, I cannot tell, your Lordship has condescended to give an account of the *Reasons* that moved you to set about this Work at this time.

These, my Lord, give me leave to remark upon, as I turn over the Leaves of your *Introduction*, in the same immethodical way as you have delivered them, intermixed with *History, Politicks, Religious Exclamations*, and *Devout Strokes of Satire*. For Fear I should injure either the force of your Arguments, or the Beauty of your Stile, I will set them down in your own Words: *The Reasons* says your Lordship, of my engaging in it at first, seemed now to re-
turn

turn upon me; and have determined me to delay the doing of it no longer. The Danger of a Popish Successor then in view, and the dreadful Apprehensions we had of the Power of France, and of the Zeal with which the extirpating that which some called the Pestilent Heresy that had so long infested these Northern Kingdoms, was then driven on, made it seem a proper time to awaken the Nation, by shewing both what Popery, and what the Reformation was; by shewing the Cruelty and Falshood of the former, and what the Patience, and Courage of our Reformers was; and the Work had generally so good an effect then, that if the like Dangers seem to revert, it may not be an improper attempt, to try once more to awaken a Nation, that has perhaps forgot past Dangers, and yet may be nearer them than ever. †

The sum of the matter is according to your Lordship's calculation, that we are as near Popery now, as we were Thirty years ago; our Danger is greater, and we are more insensible: This has been your Tone a considerable Time, and perhaps you may have repeated it so often that you begin to Beleive it. That your Lordship's Work was at the Time
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† *Introduct.* p. 27, 28.

it was writ seasonable and useful, I know no body that will dispute; but I know no body, beside your self, that will give it the honour of *effecting* the *Revolution*. You were *obliged* to go a little nearer to *Rome* to have that secret share you so often boast of in that Transaction; what Compliances you made with that Church, is indeed a mysterious part of your History: This is plain, that if there was nothing of the Religion, there was enough of the Politicks of the *Jesuit* in that Affair, and that by your own Confession, of being permitted to wear the Habit of their Clergy, and being reputed as one among Them. But because I would not affirm any thing which I am an incompetent Judge of, I will only lay before your Lordship, and the Reader, what I find asserted in Print, by others, concerning a certain Person, (never as I know of refuted or contradicted.) In a Book Printed in 1706, * The Writer speaking of some remarkable Things that happened at *Rome*, and what Evidence he had for the Truth of his Relation, adds, † “ The Person above mentioned, likewise saw there, Dr. B—t, “ in

* *The History of the Revolution*, 4to. † p. 12. & 13.

“ in Night Consults with Cardinal
 “ Howard, and other Ministers of the
 “ Court of Rome. What his Errand
 “ there was, is easie to guess. He was
 “ not at that time so Purse-proud, as
 “ to take such long Journeys and Voy-
 “ ages for Pleasure. He was sent thi-
 “ ther from *Holland* to concert and re-
 “ concile. And no doubt but he had a
 “ prevailing Interest there, and that
 “ they acknowledged his great Service
 “ in the promoting their Interest, or
 “ else they had not permitted him to
 “ wear the Habit of the Clergy there.
 “ His Letter from *Rome* [what reason
 “ he had to wear the Habit, who was
 “ by us reputed a Protestant, and con-
 “ sequently by them a Heretick, I shall
 “ not undertake to prove; tho’ as to
 “ those points there might be no great
 “ quarrel.] And indeed the great Ser-
 “ vice he did the Court of *Rome* de-
 “ served the deepest sense of acknow-
 “ ledgment; for he conquered the
 “ greatest Difficulty in the whole Affair,
 “ which was, his persuading the P—s
 “ of *O—ge* to consent to the Revolu-
 “ tion. This difficult Task he was
 “ pitched upon to manage Three years
 “ before the Revolution; which he suc-
 “ ceeded in. He told this in the Deanery

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“ House

“ House of St. Paul’s, in the presence of
 “ Dr. *White* Bishop of *Peterborough*,
 “ and Dr. *Stillington* then Dean; both
 “ which, have often spoke to that
 “ Effect in other places. Let this be
 “ Written upon his Monument, and
 “ embalm his Memory to Posterity.
 “ Putting all this together, I leave it
 “ to the Reader, without labouring
 “ for further Proof, to judge of the
 “ Design of his Journey to *Rome*, at
 “ such a Juncture of Time, and of his
 “ kind Reception there, (which he is
 “ so far from concealing, that he glo-
 “ ries in it, and values himself upon it)
 “ and put into the other Scale quite
 “ the contrary Usage to the Earl of
 “ *Castlemain*, though a Roman Catho-
 “ lick, and Ambassador from the Ca-
 “ tholick King. But the distinction
 “ was in their Errands, and not in
 “ their Persons and Characters. It
 “ was very preposterous, to outward
 “ appearance, to see a Man, who fled
 “ from the Justice of his own Country,
 “ and was a Refugee in another, to be
 “ allowed the preference to a Man of
 “ Quality, both in his own Person, and
 “ the Character he bore.

“ before the Revolution, which he had
 “ fled from. He told this in the History
 “ of the Revolution. This

This Story comes in, in humble Imitation of your Lordship's way of Writing, who are so used to mix *Private Memoirs*, in all the celebrated Treatises you oblige the World with, and bring your *Dear Self* into the Intrigues of States, the Cabinets of Princes, and rather than lose your part in any thing Memorable, the C—ve of C—ls. For my part, I can't tell how far *Diffimulation* may carry one, nor what Allowances the *Popish* and *Presbyterian* Casuists make for those, who by a pretended Zeal against them, may most effectually promote their Interests. But I am informed, that there are great Indulgences given to their Friends on this Occasion. Thus if any one has a natural Propensity to Railing, and has exercised that Talent well in the Abuse of all other *Churches*, they will permit their *Own* to take its turn too, and let some Heat evaporate against themselves, rather than be suppressed at the Damage of the Person who may do them *future* Services at a more convenient *Juncture*. Let us see what Relation this may have to our selves, and because it is confidently affirmed by a Great Man that *Poper*y is pouring in upon us, and he assures us, that we are now nearer it than ever, it

will not be amiss to hear how he proves that we are prepared for this Alteration. We may draw these up in the Form of Articles of *Impeachment* against the *British* Nation in general, by G — B — B — of S — — — *m*; The Heads of which are,

1. That they are *Stupid*, and sunk in in their Learning,
2. That they are vitiated with *Atheism* and *Superstition*.
3. That they *refuse* to buy the Books relating to the *Controversy* between the *Church of England*, and that of *Rome*; by which means the said *Books* are turned to *waste Paper*.
4. That They do not regard what the said B — — —, Says, Acts, or Writes; That they are a *deaf Adder*, and stop *their Ears* to the Incantations of him the *Charmer*.

To which I humbly crave leave to make the following reply, reserving to my self a full and entire Right and Power to make any future Observations I shall please, and except against any Evidences which the abovementioned *Impeacher* shall produce,

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As to the first Article of our being sunk in *Learning*; I answer, that for This we have only the bare Word of his Lordship to fortify this Charge, and that the contrary may be made to appear very easily by the consulting of the Labours of his Contemporaries; All the new Opinions in Religion, that so plentifully were spawned, and so much indulged during the Power of the late Ministry, were confuted both by the Clergy, and Laity, with much more strength of Reason, and depth of Learning, than any Controversy perhaps that was ever managed among us. To give only one instance, the Doctrines of *Arrius* revived by Mr. *Whiston*, have been most successfully opposed, and solidly refuted by a young † Gentleman not Two and Twenty years of Age; and nothing but obstinacy, usual with a *Heretic*, and the natural positiveness of his Dogmatical temper, can make him stand out against so plain a Conviction, as the undeniable Testimonies of the *Primitive Fathers*. One would be apt to imagine that your Lordship thought we read no Books but your own, that you so boldly charge the Nation with

† Mr. Thirlby of *Jesua College* in *Cambridge*.

with Ignorance. I must remind your Lordship, That you were not bred among us; That you can have no just Notions of our *Universities*; That you Reflect upon the two Learned Bodies of the Nation without Grounds, or Reason, only because they can't shew any favour to some darling Opinions of your Lordships. But I prepare for the second Article.

That we are vitiated with *Atheism* and *Superstition*; This we allow true in some degree, and I desire you would inform us when we were not: As long as there has been Vice and Ignorance, there have been hardy Sinners to dispute one of These, and Credulous wretches to embrace the other. But it must be observed, that in the same *fruitful Period of Time*, when They flourished most, they were the best answered, and that at present the Race of *Free-thinkers* are dumb, and ashamed to own the Principles of their Champion, who so boldly at first defied *the Host of the living God*. But among all the Writers that have engaged these Sons of Impiety and Folly, I can't find that your Lordship has lately made any Triumphs over them, and it might perhaps have better became you to have singled out Them
for

for Adversaries, than those who have laboured for the *Peace of the Nation*, and the *Glory of the Church*. The General complaints of Irreligion that are smother'd in your Pamphlets of Miscellaneous matters, will be of little Use, especially when considering Men must see the Zeal for God made subservient to that of Party, and Religion used to recommend Politicks. Were *Atheists* to be convinced by a History of Bishop *Banner*, or the *Superstitious* to be cured by Tales of Queen *Mary's* being a *Weak Woman*, and believing her self with Child, then indeed you would have done Great Things toward this Work, and we should stand in little fear of those tendencies to Popery, which you assure us is coming in from another Reason, which I shall examine.

All the Books, says your Lordship, relating to those Controversies, lie dead in the Shops, as Men of the Trade have told you. Now, tho' two or three stanch Whigg Booksellers should have affirmed this, I believe the Truth will be vehemently suspected. Other Disputes have indeed been taken up since the Revolution, and the Controversy, and not the Books, has been neglected for the study of others that have appeared in opposition

tion to the Doctrines of the Church more lately, and so were of more immediate concern; The Enemy that was beaten and fled out of sight was less formidable, than the fresh Opponent who might have equal Strength, and equal Designs for the Ruin of our Church. Beside, *my Lord*, the more Modern any Books are upon any Subject, the greater is the demand for them; and I dare say, if you will be at the Pains of a Second Letter to Mr. *Churchill*, he will inform you that these are not *Pastboard* yet, and that as many call for them as for your Lordship's late Book of *Homilies*. The Substance of the Disputed Points between us and the *Romanists* is lately abridged by Mr. *Bennet* of *Colchester*, and by the Sale of Five Editions, I believe neither *Bookseller*, nor *Reader*, have any Reason to Complain.

True it is, that the *Dutch*, and *Geneva Systems* are out of Date, because we don't care to be treated with their heavy manner of Disputing; but your Lordship may be easily convinced, that there is hardly any Man of Education's Library without *Chillingworth's* Works, tho' there are many that want *Burnett's*. There is no Ignorance so bad as that which is affected, or else another
very

very late famous† Piece might have stop-
ped that last Reflection of your Lordships.

It may perhaps be true, That there
are dead Stocks of *Controversy* in the
hands of *Men of the Trade*, and among
them, some of your own, about to be
delivered over to the Persecution of
Worms, or made the Ornaments of
Boxes, and then you have a sufficient
Reason to plead your own, and your
Booksellers Cause. It is but natural for
the Father to defend his Issue, and call
in for aid when the Symptoms of Decay
and Death begin to appear upon it ;
What living Author can bear to see his
Works *turning into Pastboard*, and re-
duced perhaps to be the Cover of his
Antagonist's Writings? Would it not
grieve the Soul of one who had writ a
Conference about Religion, to have it so
much neglected in a few years, as if the
Writer of it had really *None*? Forgive,
my Lord, my Warmth and Passion upon
so just an Occasion ; For what Man that
ever stained Paper can suppress his re-
sentments here, or help shewing some
Pity and Compassion for the Fate of
others, when himself may suffer the
same. To prevent this in some measure, I
would humbly advise you to Print a com-
plete Catalogue of your Printed Works
E and

† *The Case stated, &c.*

and Manuscripts before you die; and for a more pompous recommendation of such a valuable Treasure, I have been told that you may obtain the Approbation and Encomiums of most of the Dissenters in *England*. It would be an infinite loss to the Publick should the least part of these Papers be omitted, and therefore I would fain have your *Circular Letter to the Bishops of Scotland, against their frequenting Noblemens Houses, and Riding in Coaches*, revived and published from the *Manuscript* you once thought it your Interest to boast of. There is beside another Treatise of famous Memory, that deserves an equal Honour, *The Case of Barrenness*, well known at Court in *King Charles the 2d's* Reign, wherein the Legality of Divorce upon that account was defended against all the ancient Divines, and Canonists, by a *Scotch Casuist* who stooped lower than ever *Mr. Wharton* did for Preferment. Why should such excellent Pieces which are likely to be of so great Use, and redound so much to the Honour of the Compiler, be kept in secret? Why should we amuse the World with Disputes between the *Reformed* and the *Popish Churches*, dry, unfruitful *Speculations*, when Subjects of so
great

great an importance as These lie in Darkneſs, and might (could we but overcome the *Modesty* of a *Great Man*) be permitted to ſee the Light, to the great Service of Religion; *The Circular Letter, The Caſe of Barrenneſs* for the *Uſe of the Ladies*. But let us leave this Subject at preſent, and enter upon an Examination of the laſt part of the Charge which you have drawn up againſt your Fellow Subjects; That they *ſtop their Ears*, and whatever your Lordſhip under the Notion of a *Charmer*, offers to them, they, like a *deaf Adder*, reſuſe to hear, *charm you never ſo wiſely*.

To this, my Lord, for my ſelf I can't help ſaying, that could I find any Quality in your Lordſhip's Voice like that of a *Charmer*, were it *Soft, Sweet, Harmonious, Regular, Gentle*, then would I liſten with attention; but ſince the Notes are *Rough, Sullen, full of Anger, Thunder, and Violence*, they are apt to raiſe ſuch diſagreeable Paſſions in me, that I ſhould reckon *Deafneſs* rather a *Happineſs* than a *Diſtemper* upon ſuch an Occaſion. But Comfort to your Heart, my Lord, there are Hearers enough that delight in ſuch Muſick, *Adders* that are not *Deaf*, whoſe Tongues are full of Na-

tive Venom, and whose Ears will take in any from abroad, Sons of *Discord* they are, Promoters of *Wrangling, Strife, Sedition*; These may be charmed, and think that *Wisdom*, which is, indeed, the height of *Folly*. The Man who strikes in with the vehemence of our Passions, spirits up our Resentments, and quickens our Fears with imaginary Dangers, will certainly draw an Enthusiastick Audience, and never need fear the *sale of his Opinions*, especially when he pretends to give Directions how to remove the Dangers he threatens you with, and supports all with a *Scripture Authority*, and a Quotation or two from a *misapplied Prophecy*. This method is not unlike the Policy of an ingenious Dabber in Physick; who proposed to gain both an Estate, and Reputation, by Writing a Book, to prove that all the People in *England* were either actually in one, or going into a *Consumption*, and then modestly propose himself the Great Discovery of this Truth, as the only Curer of the Distemper. In the same manner, may a Quack in Divinity, prove the whole Nation either true staunch *Roman Catholicks*, or very near falling into the Corruptions of that Church, and then, O, for an *Antidote* against

gainst Popery. Thus, *my Lord*, you see there is a way to gain Admirers, without convincing the Judgment, if you can but play with the Infirmities of Mankind, and warm their Imaginations. There is a false Wisdom, as well as a true one, who *cryeth without, and uttereth her Voice in the Streets, in the chief Places of Concourse, in the opening of the Gates, in the City*; but it is not she who is *Pure and Peaceable, and easy to be entreated*; but the *Clamorous, Ill-natur'd, and Implacable*. I wish that this were laid home to the Consciences of some Men, who make no scruple of drawing fanciful Landskips of Terrour, and working them up in all the false Colours that a fruitful Invention can suggest; who point out *Evil Days* that have no shadow of Foundation, but in their own Brains, and make Parallels, as Odious as their own *Characters*. I think, *my Lord*, that *Prophecy* is a Gift you have not as yet pretended to, and I cannot find; that any thing else but that, will warrant those horrible Denunciations of Woe, that occur in all your late Writings. For these Reasons, I conceive it is, that Men of Sense, and Consideration, and of equal foresight perhaps with your Lordship, look upon your Occasional

nal Papers, some, as the *Amusements* of a restless intemperate Genius; others as the Designs and Artifices of a disgusted Spirit; that seeks to disguise its private Resentments; under the cover of Apprehensions for the Publick.

From hence proceeds the long detail of the Persecution in Queen Mary's Reign, dreadful Tendencies to a Court Inquisition, &c. only for the sake of closing all, with, *Here is that which those who look towards a Popish Successor must expect;* and who are these, excepting the Papists? and they by Principle, we will suppose; do; and under the Coercion of the Laws in force against them, their Power is not formidable. But sure there are some others too, and these; according to your Lordship's Description, are those who resolve to change with every Wind and Tide, that is, to do at Rome, as they do at Rome, and you know who was There; at Geneva, as at Geneva; at Holland, as at Holland, and you know who was There. But all this upon Supposition, that the Law and Government are on the side of that Religion; if this be their Motive, they may as well acquiesce in a Protestant as a Popish Successor; so that they are not much to be depended upon, or used as
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an Argument in favour of either. The whole Mystery of the Business is revealed a little lower, and that is, That the Clergy of the Church of England, are those you suspect to give into this Fatal Revolution; they, says your Lordship, if they have any Principles at all, must look for nothing but to be turned out of their Livings, or forced to abandon their Families; be hunted from Place to Place, into parts beyond Sea, and then they may expect to meet with some of that haughty Contempt, with which too many have treated Forreigners who took Sanctuary among us. This Paragraph is full of your Lordship's Spirit, for how Kind, and Tender, and abounding with Brotherly Affection is the Introduction! They, if they have any Principles at all; is it then become a Doubt, a meer Supposition, that the Clergy have some Principles of that Religion which they profess, and that the Sons of the Church, either know not, or care not for their Mother, or are tied to Her merely by a secular Interest? Let any Reader Judge, whether these are the strokes of a Friend or an Enemy; these the Words of one of the same Country, and Kindred, or the Haughty Contempt of a Forreigner, who has only hitherto Professed

to be of the same Religion ? The Clergy,
my Lord, without your Information,
 know well the Consequences of Popery,
 and have as deep an Abhorrence of its
 Principles, and as just a Sense of its
 Cruelties, even the meanest of them,
 as those who pretend to be in Fear of
losing Much; neither can they in Justice,
 if that *Evil Day* should come, expect the
 Contempt you promise them Abroad. For
 what Church has given so kind a Reception
 as ours to the *Persecuted* ? What Sanctu-
 ary has received more ? Where have
 they been so much Cherished, Carested,
 and Advanced, even in Preference to
 its own Members, as in *England* ? I ap-
 peal to their own Books, both at Home
 and Abroad, which are full of *Encomi-
ums* to this purpose, wherein our
 Church is described, as always opening
 her Arms to receive the Afflicted,
 and ever ready to embrace the Profes-
 sors of the same Faith. *My Lord,* if
 you proceed to write in this manner,
 you will make the Ignorant People be-
 lieve, that the Members of the Church
 of *England* have not one single *Christian*
 Virtue left among them ; You have
 stripped them, already of *Faith* and
Hope, and now you would take away
 their *Charity* too. Unhappy Church!
 Had

Had any one beside this *Accuser* spoken thus, how wouldst thou have fallen in the Esteem of all Mankind? What a Scorn hadst thou been to the Nations round about thee?

But, *my Lord*, you seem to be a little deficient in the number of those whom you think inclinable to Popery; your Argument is, what we call in the Schools an *Induction*, now I believe it will appear that your *Enumeration* of Particulars is defective. The *Dissenters*, *my Lord*, ever favoured by you, are omitted; and yet I believe they are better Friends to *Rome* than any you have mentioned, at least to a *Papish* Successor; I am sure the *Parliament* of *Ireland* have lately told the *Lord Lieutenant* in their Address, That some of their *Leading Teachers* refuse to take the Oath of *Abjuration*, and yet in defiance of the Law, Preach in Publick before numerous *Assemblies*. I think nothing can be a plainer Demonstration of their good will to the Person you mean, than This open avowing this Cause.

If your *Lordship* keeps any Correspondence with your own Countrymen, I desire you would inform us how the *Trans-Twinedal Brethren* stand affected in this Point, and whether they agree in

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going

going Lengths with those in *Ireland*. If those among us have not yet pulled off the Mask, it is to be attributed more to their *Fear*, or their *Policy*, than their *Modesty*; It is common for the symptoms of Disaffection to appear first in parts most remote from the influence of Authority; where the Distance it self is some sort of security to the Offenders. I know that many will be apt to plead the Contrariety of the Principles of *Presbyterianism* to such Practices; their constant Invectives against the *Church of Rome*, and particularly their clamorous Zeal of late Years; but all these are but thin Veils, and stale Articles. Experience may convince us that it is the *Church of England* they aim at, they care not what Power they make use of, what Allies they call in if *That* could be once effectually subverted. It is the *End*, and not the *Means*, which they look at, any Instruments will serve for this Work, and the condition they are likely to find their own Affairs in afterwards, is the least part of their Care. If This be not the Truth (as I hope it is not) yet, *my Lord*, I am certain that former Observations will better justify me in charging *Them* with such a Design, than the present Scene of Things can your

Lord.

Lordship in laying the same upon the Members of the *Church of England*.

Hitherto your Lordship has dealt chiefly with the *Inferiour Clergy*, your next Care is to preserve the *Gentry*, the *Nobility*, and *Dignified Clergy*, from submitting to the *Papal Yoke*, and to these you make a different Address, and offer what you call *another sort of Considerations*. Tho', in my Opinion, this *other sort of Considerations* is no more than the former, they both depending entirely upon *Secular Motives*, without one Argument drawn from the nature of *Religion* it self. As those are Threatned with the loss of their *Freehold*, their *Livings*, so these are with the forfeiture of their *Estates*, the deprivation of their *Dignities*, and their *Revenues*, by the *Resumption* of the *Abbey Lands*. Your Lordship's way of Reasoning turns wholly upon this Insecurity of their *Property*, and accordingly you have brought many collateral Proofs from the Opinions and Practices of the *Church of Rome*, to confirm the necessity of such a *Restitution*. The sum of the matter is, That whensoever they have the Power in their Hands, they will not fail to make use of it, and by a management familiar to them, turn it into good *Law*, good *Rea-*

son, and good Scripture. I believe, *my Lord,* I have given your Argument, tho' not in your own Words, all the weight that it can receive, and yet after all, I can't perceive that it proves any thing; or if it does, it proves *too much*, which equally destroys its application, at least as to the *Revenues* in the present Possession of the *Church*: For, *my Lord,* whatever *Power* that is an Enemy to the *Church*, whether *Popery, Presbytery, or Independancy* gains the upper hand of that *Church*, that *Power* will certainly alienate all its *Revenues* to its own use. As to the Part which remains in the hands of the *Laiety*, that indeed is secure enough from any hands but the *Romanists*, and as the present posture of Affairs stands, secure from that too. But your Lordship had writ in vain, had you not alarmed the *People* with this Notion, and frightened them into a Compliance with your present set of *Politicks*, by the terrible Doctrine of *Restitution*. The Resignations of our Possessions and Properties is one of the hardest difficulties we can be urged to, and it is likely that human Nature would struggle so much with *Religion* upon that account, that I dare say that a Friend of your Lordship's would think once or twice be.

before he parted with his B——ck;
 There is nothing more easie to a Sanguine temper in the midst of affluence, than to raise Heroical Ideas of *distant Martyrdom*, and to impute the effects of a good Complexion, and a gay turn of Spirits, to a real Christian Fortitude, and an habitual Conviction of Truth, But it is to be feared, that as the Danger approached, the Zeal would abate, and the nearer the Flames came, they would still grow more and more *Disagreeable*, and retard that hasty Motion, which some Men would persuade us, they should make into them. Alas! *my Lord*, (for why should not I make use of one *Exclamation* ?) it is not Promises and fine Speeches, that will stand in the *Day of Tryal*, least of all will *They* be believed to be in earnest, who have before fled from much slighter apprehensions of *Danger*. There are, *my Lord*, *Bullies* in Religion, as well as in Points of Honour, who are in Hopes, that their Noise and Clamour, ever loudest upon the least Occasion, will prevent the Suspicion of *Cowardice*, and make them pass upon the Ignorant for Men of Principles and Résolution, and so wishing that *Party Joy*, who have the Honour

nour to have most of these listed under their Banner, I proceed to take Notice of one *Insinuation*, that your Lordship says, you hear some are not ashamed to Make, neither are you ashamed to Publish. By way of Preface to your Tale, I cannot help thinking, that *this same Hearsay*, is an excellent recommendation of matter of Fact, and that with its Relations, *Good Intelligence, the Best Hands, a Certain Person who shall be Nameless,* and its Great Grandfather *Tradition*, it would infallibly make the compleatest Body of *History* that ever entered into the World; and if a Person of sufficient Abilities to compose a Work of that Nature, should be thought proper to be employed, I can recommend the Undertakers to *One*, every way qualified for that Great Composition; a *Man who has not lived in a Corner, and had but a small Horizon*; but *One* of large Views, well known to the *Learned*, and a *Great Traveller*.

Thus much for Introduction, and now to the Charge it self, of a very black and extraordinary Nature; which had it wanted the support before mentioned, and the Evidence of the *Divulger* of this Secret, could not fail being called in Question; but such Ora-
cles

cles can make any thing Truth. The Suggestion is, *That a Resumption of the Abbey Lands, may be indeed a Prejudice to the Laity, but that the Clergy may be Enriched by it.* Upon this, your Lordship taking it for granted, that your Informant did not impose upon you, cries out, *Impudence! Vain Hopes! Black Designs!* I hope you will not be offended, if I borrow an Answer to this Paragraph from your Adversary Mr. Wharton, who, upon a Case, not unlike this in your Lordship's History, says, *It is somewhat extraordinary in any Writer, to lay down Principles confessedly Dubious, and then to build upon them, and raise Consequences from them, as if they were indubitably True.** That your Lordship builds upon this Story as Truth, is plain, by your setting about to disprove the Assertion contained in it. As to the Uncharitable Consequences which you draw from it, I shall consider them distinctly, after I have made, first, some Remarks upon your Proof it self. Your Words are, *That the Church, take it in the Bulk, has immense Riches, in the Roman Communion; yet in no Church that ever I saw, are the Parochial Clergy kept*

* See, Mr. Wharton's Specimen.

" Poorer, and made more despicable;
 " they are as the Hewers of Wood,
 " and Drawers of Water, kept at hard
 " Labour, on a very Poor Subsistence.
 " The several Orders among them,
 " the governing Clergy, and the out-
 " ward Magnificence of their Churches
 " and Services, devours all that Treas-
 " ure; so that the poor Clergy, even in
 " that State Celibacy, have scarce ne-
 " cessary Sustainance, unless it be in some
 " few Capital Cities, and in very vast
 " Parishes in them. They are starved, to
 " maintain the Luxury and Vanity of
 " others; This was the true Occasion of
 " all the Poverty of the Parochial Cler-
 " gy among us, to which some Reme-
 " dies have been sought for and to some
 " degree found, ever since the Refor-
 " mation was first settled among us.

" Whatever, *my Lord*, the Parochial
 " Clergy are abroad in the *Romish* Church,
 " however Mean and Despicable, it con-
 " cerns not us, who never expect to have
 " ours sink lower than they are; which is,
 " indeed, lower, at present, than it was
 " before the *Reformation*, for the genera-
 " lity. I would not be thought to plead
 " the Cause of *Papery*, whose Errors and
 " Corruptions are too gross to be swal-
 " lowed by Men of Common Sense; but

but I hope I shall be pardoned at least, for endeavouring to give a truer account than I think your Lordship has, of the State of the Clergy among us before the *Reformation*. What I shall offer upon this Head, is only an Abstract from one of the best Judges, whom you own to have examined the dark Ages before the *Reformation* with much diligence, and to have known many things relating to those Times, beyond any Man of the Age.

Now this very Learned Person informs us, that neither were the Superiour Clergy so very *Rich*, nor the Inferiour so *Poor*, as your Lordship would make us believe they were in those Days. The *Monks* were certainly the Richest Orders, and upon his Computation they possessed not a *Tenth* part of the Wealth of the Nation; and long before the *Reformation*, they Leased out their Lands to Laymen for easie Fines, and small Rents, as Bishops, Deans and Chapters do at present. Such easie Terms to great Numbers of Persons who enjoyed them, could not but be to the Interest of the Nation. Beside, they contributed to the Publick Charges of the Nation equally with the other Clergy, whose Proportion always exceeded that of the Laity. As for the Impropriated Livings, which

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have

have now no settled Endowments, and are either perpetual, or sometimes arbitrary Curacies, they are such as belonged formerly to those Orders, who could serve the Cure of them in their own Persons, which afterwards devolved into the hands of Laymen, who hired poor Curates at the cheapest rate they could to serve them, and still do the same; so that the Case of these is much upon the same foot as before. The Vicarages are in much worse Condition since the Reformation than they were before it; their Fees for Services being then Great, since very Inconsiderable. Before the Reformation, Bishops could, and often did increase their allowance of the Tithes of the Benefices in what proportion they pleased, even beyond the first dotation of it. There are sufficient Testimonies of This in our ancient Records and Registers.

And now, *my Lord*, it will not be amiss to reflect what a considerable part of our present *Parochial* Clergy, the Persons of the two last Classes make, and compare their Poverty with the State of Affairs before the Reformation, and you will find, I believe, that all the Remedies hitherto applied, have not raised them to the Proportion of their former Revenues. I might add, that the *Luxury, and Vanity* which

which you complain of here, and in your *History of the Reformation* charge the superiour Orders of the Popish Clergy with, seems to be built upon a weak Foundation; as far, I mean, as it respects those in *England*. Any one who will peruse Mr. *Wharton's* Book, may there see that you sometimes Transcribe this Scandal from their profest Enemies, at other times from notorious Lyers, and that the Censure of the Remarker is but too true, when he says, That *your Lordship vouches no Authority for those passages which tend to defame the Memories of other Men, in which, above all others, Justice and Charity would require that sufficient, or at least some Testimony be produced.* It was that induced me the more to repeat this Censure, because the Accusation is repeated with such a Pomp, and Air of Truth, as if it were unquestionable Fact, and had never met with any Correction from those who knew the Condition of those Times. Our Reformers need no Calumny, no aggravation of Crimes to support their Cause: Be those the mean Artifices of their Enemies.

But, *my Lord*, you never propose an Argument, or make a Description, without a Parallel or a Consequence, and to do you Justice, you have given us an extraordinary

extraordinary one suited to the present Times. Now when a Painter Draws a Beautiful Person in all the Features of Deformity that an Unskilful Hand, Ill Light, and miserable Colours can give him, the best way to expose the Dauber, is to shew the Picture, and leave the World to compare it with the Original. For this Reason, *my Lord*, I will only (Pardon the Expression) Hang out your own Monster, that is, the Figure or Description of the Clergy as you have represented them, and I don't question but it will have the same success, as the Case abovementioned would have. They are, says your Lordship, *an insensible, degenerate Race, who are thinking of nothing but present Advantages: And so, that they may now support a Luxurious, and Brutal Course of Irregular, and Voluptuous Practices; they are hired to betray their Religion, and to give up that Liberty, and those Properties, which are the present Felicities of the Nation.* And is not this a complete Draught? Is it not exactly like, and agreeable to the Life? When *Zenophon* Drew the Character of *Cyrus*, the Orator tells us, it was not what he really was, but what he would have had him to have been; And why may not the same Art be used in a *Bad*, as well as in a *Good* Description?

Or,

Or, why might not This be the Design of the Writer? You see, *my Lord*, I am willing to make an excuse for you, but I can't tell whither you will admit of it, or no, since it is the Pride of some Authors to let no space of Time escape their Wounds, accusing the *Dead*, translating the *Living*, and deceiving *Posterity*.

But to return with your Lordship to the Prosecution of the Design of your Work. You are pleased to raise our expectation of the Contents of your *Third Volume*, by informing us what farther assistance both at home, and abroad, you have received towards the finishing your Design. And since I am as desirous as any one, that your Work may go on to your own Glory, and the Honour of our Country, I could wish that you would not let it sink beneath the Character of a History, and mix any Party, or trivial Circumstances with it, such as that acute Observation of your Lordship's in the former Part, That *Bishop Bonner was a great Lover of Pears, and Puddings*; for I can't think that had any influence upon his Spirit of Persecution, unless your Lordship can prove they were *Black-Puddings*, which a Great Wit says —

— are

are proper food
For Warriors that delight in Blood,

However not to insist on that, because I know a certain B——p of a very Moderate Spirit, who has an equal affection for Black Puddings, it would not be improper to consider the Fidelity as well as the Dignity of an Historian. Upon this account I hope we shall have a more faithful Copy of the Letters that passed between Bullinger and our English Divines, than you gave us of Luther's † Thoughts upon the Sacrament, out of a Manuscript in Bennet College, wherein the most material words are omitted, to serve the turn of the Comprehension-Scheme. I tell your Lordship this beforehand, because I am very well assured, that there are many Volumes of Forreigners and our Reformers Letters in some hands in England, of which you will not have the perusal. I only advise you to be upon your Guard, and give no occasion for their being produced and made use of against the Credit of your Work, when it comes to be Published.

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† See, A true Copy of this collated with the Manuscript in a Discourse on Dr. Burnet, and Dr. Tillotson, compared with the Bishop's Collections, Page 166.

The next Subject which your Lordship is pleased to give us a sketch of in your Introduction, is the *Proceedings in Convocation* about those Times, and the *Submission* the Clergy were brought to make, which has brought those Bodies under *Restraints* uneasy to the *Advocates of Church Power*. Your Lordship confesses your self to have been very defective in this matter, *Peculiar Modesty!* Great hopes of amendment; but I fear another Paragraph or two will destroy our expectations. When you had gone so far in owning your Defects, you might have added too, what is plainly proved, that you did not so much as know what Persons the two Houses of *Convocation* consisted of before the Reformation. There were Books enough *unburnt* to have informed you of that; but you were early averse to those Affairs, and still confess that you are *not inclined to expect much from the Assemblies of Clergy-men*. And now the Secret is coming out, which is, *That what has happened among our selves has not made you of another mind*. And truly, my Lord, I should very much wonder if it had, *Censures* are not so apt to make *Converts*; the Reputation of your Lordship's Writings has suffered in that Place, and the Revival of an old Charge, or
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Provocations for a New one, may give you just Reasons to *expect* but little favour from those Assemblies. It is but natural to condemn an Authority beforehand, when we are afraid of the Exercise of its Power, *Whiston, Toland, Collins,* and the whole Train of *Hereticks*, Ancient and Modern, have done the same Thing. For my part I don't see of what use your Quotation from Sir *Thomas More* is, since it is plain his Words will bear a very favourable Interpretation ; for he asserts, That regular and frequent Meetings of the Clergy would have been of great Advantage, and seems only to fear that the reviving what had so long been disused, might be attended with dangerous Consequences.

Sir *Thomas* was plainly of Opinion in the first place, that there was an Original Necessity for such Meetings, and if the course of Synods was interrupted or neglected by the Civil Power, the fault is not to be charged on the Clergy, but that Authority (whatever it was) that was the cause of such Interruptions. That *little was done at their Assemblies in Spiritual Things*, might arise from the same Reason, since it is much the same thing, whether their Power of Acting at all were taken away, or restrained and deter :

determined to such peculiar Acts as the Temporal Authority thought proper for the Cognizance. He does indeed charge them with Neglect of Duty, and infers from thence, that *God* suffered Divisions among them, and perhaps this complaint was but too just in those Days, and yet neither the Argument, nor the Authority are sufficient to conclude against Convocations in general. For pray, *my Lord*, who are the proper Judges in Controverted Points in Religion? Who shall distinguish the Doctrines of the Church, from the various Glosses of Hereticks, but those whose Education and Studies have been bent that way? Who have Read, Tryed, and Examined all Opinions, and learned to hold fast to that which is True? They, certainly, must be the Persons, whose Determinations are to be followed, whomsoever the Civil Authority shall enable, to pronounce Sentence upon their Determinations. I think therefore, that your Lordship, rather betrays your own *Fears*, than their *Faults*, in so rash a Condemnation of your Brethren; and tho' you tell us, that *Sir Thomas More* calls them *Confederacies*, yet, if you please to consider a little, that Word had an Innocent Meaning, till you applied it. Yet;
H you

you say, you have taken some Pains upon this slight Subject, tho' in your own Opinion, it is one of the meanest parts in your Book.

It is not to be doubted, my Lord, but that the Clergy will make a very mean Figure in your History, you need not have given the World a Promise for that, they having Earnests enough before of your Good Will to your own Order. Woe to the Manes of the Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, Abbots, and Deans; The Writer against the Dead is now sharpening his Pen, and quickning his Invention, to persecute their Memory, and who can oppose him? For this part of our Historian's Performance, which relates to Convocation Affairs, I only wish, that the same Hand would undertake him, from whom he has received such proper Chastisement before upon the same Subject, then, I dare say, a certain Person's own Character, will appear as ridiculous as any he shall draw of the Deceased, with this Difference only, that the Dead are incapable of discovering their Shame, and and the Living will not.

I pass over your Account of the Gallican Church, reserving my Remarks for your Lordship's larger Discoveries, which I take your Word for it, are very Curious.

But

But there is one Passage, quoted from Bishop Godeau, part of which I cannot help Transcribing, and applauding the Happiness of him who has selected so *Curious* a Reflection, which every one will know where to apply as soon as he has read it; *Promotions from the Court, says the Bishop, have been always fatal to the Church; and the Bishops that the Court has made, have been ordinarily the chief Advancers of Schisms, Heresies, and of the Oppression of the Church.* Any Man of common Observation must know and remember the Persons, who by a false *Lemity*, and a Treacherous *Moderation*, gave encouragement to *Schismatics*, and endeavoured to betray the Rites and Discipline of that Church, they were obliged by all Ties Human and Divine, to Maintain and Defend. It was a notable *Era*, (and may it never be forgotten) when Her true Sons, who in despite of *Power*, and the influences of the *Great*, stood fast to her Doctrines and Principles, were by too many Discountenanced and Oppressed; while Her Opposers, of almost all Denominations, were Cherished, Carested, and Advanced; nay, they made a mock of her, and bid her open Defiance; And then again, when a mighty turn of

Providence had rescued her from the Insults of her Adversaries, What humble Compliances, What reconciling Advancements did they make in her Favour? Sordid Spirits! equally Mean and Despicable in their Love, and in their Hatred.

I wish that People would divest themselves a little while from Prejudice, taking time to reflect coolly upon what has of late Years happened among our selves, they will then be capable of judging, who from the Nature of their Principles, may most probably be induced to make a Party for Popery. Let them trace the mazes of such Men, who have, for a time, expressed a forward and importunate Zeal for the Church, and then, as its exterior Power and Glory declined, made haste into an opposite Interest, to secure a Protection or Preferment from its Enemies; but as soon as they have observed its Authority reviving, began to temper their Relentments, and then with much Flattery and many Appeals to the sincerity of their Consciences, took Sanctuary under her Alars. But if it happened, that the more discerning part of Mankind discovered and proclaimed their Baseness, their next Refuge was Calumny, Scandal, and false Accusation. These Arts

Arts well coloured over with an *Abhorrence of Superstition*, and mighty pretences to Purity and Reformation, with a few broad signs to serve a Party, as well in the capacity of Politicians as Divines, have been sufficient to deceive a Multitude into an Opinion, that they were still for the *Church*. Let any one, I say, consider the Inconstancy of these Men, changing still only with a view to Interest, and then think if they are not the likeliest Persons, if ever it becomes their Interest, to advance the *Roman Catholick Cause*.

This, *my Lord*, I reckon a very necessary Digression from the Subject of your Introduction, and I have your own Authority to plead, for want of Connexion, sufficient sure to protect me from the Cavils of the Criticks, tho' I must own, that had I strictly imitated so great an Example, I should have often repeated the Word *Slavery*, at the close of a Melancholly Sentence, and given my Reader an occasion of shaking his Head, and shrugging his Shoulders for fear of a *Popish Yoke*. It might likewise have been of considerable use to me, to have brightened up his Aspect now and then, with the Words, *Liberty, Right, Privilege*, and then have protested from the bottom of my Soul, that I would have

have encouraged and stood by him to the last drop of my Blood, in the Defence of the said Words. I might have told him with a Grave Air, that whatever People might pretend to the contrary, *Property* was *Property* still; and *Poper*y was *Poper*y still; and made Twenty more such notable Discoveries, which could not fail giving him a great Opinion of my Learning and profound Knowledge in Modern Controversies. Again, if I could have made a Friend of a *Sea-Captain*, I might have introduced him very happily, as an Evidence against the *Pope*, and proved, that his *Holiness* was as great a Rogue as ever; Beside these, a *Swiss Manuscript*, and a *Printed Bull* that I could not Read, would have done me signal Services, and been a good amusement for my Reader. But my Betters having thought fit to take into their Possession and Use all these Arts, of gaining the Hearts and Souls of those they Address to, I am forced to be contented with the old plain way of Answering and Proving. To begin then with some Maxims that I learned in my Younger Years, and which no Man can be so hardy as to deny. *Mankind is a Creature by his Make and Frame disposed to Religion, or, Homo est Animal Religiosum.*

giousum. If the Principles of Justice, Truth, Temperance, and Universal Love, do not Govern them, they will soon grow to be Curses and Plagues to one another, or, Status Naturæ est Status Belli. From these unanswerable Premises, I draw this Conclusion, That there must of necessity, a pack of Priests grow up, who will teach Men to compound for all Crimes, and to expiate the Blackest Practices, by some Rituals. How these things hang together, and whether the Consequence is naturally deduced from the Premises, I will not presume to say ; but I am sure that I found them disposed in this manner in the *Introduction* to your Lordship's Third Volume, p. 87. and it being a way of Reasoning, that seems to me New and Curious, I have transplanted, or to use an odd Phrase of your own, *Consubstantiated* them into the Body of my Letter.

I am now drawing towards the Conclusion of your Lordship's Pamphlet; but still find many Particulars, which I must not let pass me, without a few Remarks; and that I may do this in a more Methodical manner, I shall reduce them under the following Heads.

Yours

1. Your Lordship's Alarm to the Two Houses of Parliament.

2. The renewal of your Charge against the Clergy, with greater bitterness, and your pretended Proofs of their Inclination to Popery.

3. Your Great Character of your self, and your Friends, and their Resolutions either to Resist or Suffer.

First then, your Lordship very justly observes, That the Peers and Commons, are the Trustees and Depositaries of our Laws and Liberties, and of the Legal Security of our Religion, and are under a particular Obligation of Watching carefully over this Sacred Trust. This, my Lord, we expect from the present Parliament for their Religion, for their Country, and for their own Sake they will do this; and we hope too (tho' you have not spoke a Word of that matter) that they will maintain the Honour and Dignity of their Sovereign, nor suffer Her to be pressed with Insolent Petitions and Rude Addresses, to prefer the Subverters of Her just Title to the Crown; That they will consider Her as the Anointed of God, and not the Creature of the People; That their Duty to Her, may draw down the Blessing of Heaven upon their Endeavours

yours to secure these invaluable Treasures to their Posterity. As for your Lordship's Advice, that *they would not be absent, or remiss on Critical Occasions,* the Persons to whom you apply yourself more particularly, will easily understand it as a *Watch-Word*, and I dare say will hardly be taken into Custody for *Absence*; however, they may incur that Punishment for something else. Truly, *my Lord*, I don't well know, what these *Critical Occasions* mean; but we are threaten'd with *Twelve Pennyworth* of them in a short time, and then it is to be hoped, we shall have them fully stated. But if they should (it is your Lordship's Supposition) *abandon the Establishment and Security of our Religion*, what Fate are they to meet with, both they whose Contrivances effected it, and those whose Negligence suffered it to be effected? Why your Lordship assures us, *That they and their Families shall perish, their Names will rot and be held in Detestation, Posterity will curse them, and the judgments of God will overtake them.* Here is a notable string of Curses indeed, denounced in as emphatical a manner, with as positive a certainty, as if they proceeded from the Mouth of a Prophet; and such as are hardly Ap-
 I plicable

plicable to any but *one* Betrayer that ever was in the World: Your Lordship is an Historian, and I would know if you talk at present in that Quality, and humbly desire an Instance or two of this Nature, I am sure I know many to the contrary not a *Century* ago. I believe too if you have recourse to Divinity, you will come off as ill, and that it will appear, *the Pope and your Lordship, have an equal pretence to Infalible Anathema's.* How God will be pleased to punish such enormous Crimes, is a secret to us all, nor can it be any thing but Presumption to pretend to determine the methods of Divine Vengeance.

It is strange in any Man, to measure out degrees of Impiety, and then to proportion our Punishments to them merely out of his own Head, to raise the most abominable Scandal, upon the majority of a *Nation* (for without that it cannot be) and then load them with Execrations at his own Will, when at the same time, he can have no probability for his Supposition, nor the least pretence to a Divine Command to threaten Judgments. What the Almighty may permit I know not; but if we may judge of future Occurrences by the past, there is no fear of a relapse
into

into Popery in these Nations. What could not be done with the *influence of a King and Court* on its side, can hardly be ever effected without it; and it is no Compliment to us, to brand us, as the most *Ignorant, Stupid, Senseless Persons* of all the *Reformed Churches*. He certainly little deserves the Character of an *Englishman*, that can even so much as think any great number of his Countrymen guilty of such Folly, Baseness, Infidelity, and Apostacy; What shall we say of the Wretches, who dare speak thus? Are they governed by their *Fears*, or by their *Hopes*? Do they dread it as an *Evil Day*, or wish for it as a *Good One*? I leave them to their own dark Thoughts, and proceed in the Examination of your Lordship's second Assertion, The renewal of the Charge against the *Clergy*.

I must own, that your Lordship's Accusation is partly *Hypothetical*, and therefore I might Answer it, by only supposing the contrary, which I could do with much more Grounds of Reason, than I foresee can be urged for the other Opinion. Yet since I know, that I should lay an Injurious charge of *Modesty* upon our Modern Retailers of *Suppositions* if I did not understand them, as positive Affirmations; I beg leave to take these

in that Light, at present, promising that if they are denied to be such, I will entirely give up the Argument. Let us then review the Character of the Clergy under this Notion; *They are Blind, they are all Ignorant, they are all Dumb-Dogs, they cannot Bark, Sleeping, Lying down, loving to Slumber; And were it so, Had they not better be Blind and Ignorant, than make their Knowledge and Learning the instruments of Mischief? better be Dumb Dogs, than continually Barking at their own Shadows? better Sleep and fold their Hands together with Solomon's Sluggard, than Watch with the Envious Man in the Gospel, to sow Tares among the Wheat? better satisfy themselves with a circle of Dead and Dry Performances, than make the Church of God the Field of War and Sedition, and Trumpet out Rebellion, where they ought to speak Peace? I well know, how Odious it is, to bring Names into Question, therefore I forbear, yet, I am sure, that it were much more easie to give Instances of false Conduct, than Negligence; of Learning misapplied, than of Ignorance.* After this, your Lordship proceeds to give Instances of some Doctrines, the worst parts of Popery, to which you say some are already consenting, and were this

this true, I should think it the most unanswerable part of your Book, and readily believe with your Lordship, that those who had gone so far, would not fear engaging farther when occasion offered. But, *my Lord*, the Fact is what I question, and I perceive too, that among the Doctrines which you Arraign as *Popish*, some are the Good, Sound Doctrines of the Best Men of our Church, and have been supported with such Arguments, as in my small compass of Reading, I could never find refuted.

The first Articles you are pleased to mention, as maintained by some among the Clergy, are, *Auricular Confession*, *Priestly Absolution*, *the Sacrifice of the Mass*; now, *my Lord*, I know but one Person of the Church, whose Notions seems to have any Tendency that way; and he has endeavoured to clear himself as much as can be from the Imputation of *Popery*; your Lordship well knows that the Learned differ much in the Interpretation of the *Articles* of our Church some running into one Extreme, and some into another. However, were the Accusation true, as I see no ground to believe it is, yet I would fain know by what figure of Speech, a *single Person* can be called *Some*.

Ans.

Another mark of Popery, is the *Independance* of the Church upon the State ; if this be Popery, all the Great Men almost that this Church and Nation ever produced, were *Papists*, and your Account will swell to a great height indeed, if this should pass at present as a sign of that Religion. For, my Lord, if the Church be dependant on the State, any Religion that can obtain the Sanction of the *Civil Authority*, has all that is required, and is necessary for the Truth of that Religion. It is the *Creature* of the State, which is as direct *Hobbism*, as ever was propagated, and will serve the turn of the *Pope* and *Mahomet*, as well as the true uncorrupted *Faith*. I desire your Lordship would inform us, if the Church be not a distinct and independant Society from the State, upon what *Power and Rights* it stands in the Times of Persecution ? What it had before it was Encouraged by the State, and whether its Establishment by the State takes away any Authority that it enjoyed before ? These, my Lord, are material Questions, of which kind many more might be put, such as all the Opposers of Church Power can never Answer, I am sorry to see any Member of the Church of England, sinking into the vile

principles of the *Author of the Rights, &c.*
 But whicher will not some Men run, under
 the pretence of avoiding Popery?

Again, the indispensable *Necessity* of
 the Priesthood to all Sacred Functions, is
 carried, in the Point of Baptism, beyond
 Popery; This, beyond Popery, is a very
 odd Expression, and I cannot tell any
 Reason why, because our Doctrine is
 distinct, and different from Popery in
 this point, it should be said to be carried
 beyond it. You know, my Lord, that
 the Council of Trent, and their *Cate-*
chism approve of Lay-Baptism, Midwife-
 Baptism, &c. The Dissenters are of the
 same Opinion, and herein they meet and
 agree like Brethren. Now why should one
 who has shown so great tenderness and
 respect to this Body of Men, touch
 them in so Sore a place? Can they, who
 seem to start with Abhorrence from the
 very Name of Popery, be pleased to
 hear, that they approach near to any of
 its Doctrines, and what is worse, that
 this Nakedness should be exposed by a
 Friend? May they make a suitable re-
 turn for this Kindness! As to the point of
Baptism, I have formerly taken some
 Pains to consult the best Authors on this
 Subject of our own Church, and others;
 the great *Grotius*, and most of our Or-
 thodox

thodox Divines, have been of Opinion, that *Baptism*, by a *Lay-Hand*, in cases of extreme *Necessity* might be administered; but are very doubtful of the *Efficacy* of such *Baptism* leaving it entirely to *Uncovenanted Mercy*, the extent of which, no Man can determine. The Learned have made it plain, by the whole *Tenour* of *Scripture*, and the *Consent* of the *Fathers* of the *Church*, That there is an indispensable *Necessity*, where the *Priest* may be had, and that the *Neglect* is of the utmost *Danger*.

The urging of this *Doctrine*, may be attended with many *Good Consequences*, and the dis-belief of it, may be the occasion of many *Inconveniences*. For if once People begin to believe, that they have a *Power* to administer *Sacraments*, they will easily be induced to imagine themselves qualified for other *Sacred Offices*, which are all certainly of a lower degree, than the *Administration* of *Sacraments*. And this would indeed open a passage for *Confusion*, *Scepticism*, *Atheism*, and every *Evil Thought* and *Deed*, which could be advanced against the *Christian Religion*, and its *Ministers*.

But to the rest, your Lordship says, That their *Devotions* are openly recommended, and a *Union* with the *Gallican Church*

Church, has been Impudently proposed. That the Devotions of that Church are recommended is true, but your Lordship has very unfairly suppressed the manner of this Recommendation, and an incautious Reader, would be apt to imagine, that their Prayers to the Virgin *Mary*, to their *Saints*, and all their other Groundless and Unscriptural Applications of Divine Worship, were openly published and approved by our Divines. Whereas the Case is only this, That some Good and Pious Men with a Design to promote that great Duty of *Family-Devotion*, have Translated and Improved some Books of their best Writers on this Subject, leaving out all the Passages, which were tainted with the Corruptions of that Church, and supplying them with such Applications, as the Undoubted and Canonical parts of Scripture allow. The Translators have always been so just to the World and themselves, as to give us this warning, for fear their Design should be misinterpreted, and I remember the Title of one of them is *Reformed Devotions*. I am sure that a *Doctor of Divinity*, of whom 'tis reported that King Charles the 2d, used to say, *That he was good for nothing but a good Memory*, might have remembered this to; and sure no

Man had ever more Occasion for that Faculty than He. But this is nothing to your Lordship, and therefore I proceed to enquire whether there can be any Reason against the recommending such Translations? It is certain, that tho' the true Christian Religion enjoyns nothing but what is agreeable to us as rational Creatures, yet that the Generality of its Professours want great Aids, and Assistances in the Exercise of their Duty, and particularly the Mechanical part of them, nothing more than such Forms of Devotion as may be adapted to all the Occasions of Life. Upon this account our Divines have taken Great Pains in Composing and Translating such Books as they thought would advance true Piety and inspire them with a spirit of Devotion. In this they have taken the same caution as St. Jerome did in the Translating the Books of the Hereticks: the substance of which is, as the Learned Dr. Bentley informs us, That *he had either omitted or rescinded, or refuted those Passages which might pervert, or scandalize the unlearned Reader.* And what Harm is there in all This? What occasion for that disingenuous insinuation, That *their Books of Devotion are openly recommended.* It would be much to the honour of

Voluminous Writer whom I well know, if his Performances were Purged, and Corrected after the same manner; for God forbid that ev'ry Book he has writ should be burnt, and entirely perish!

Asto the *Union with the Gallican Church*, which your Lordship tells us has been impudently proposed, you should at the same time have informed your Readers by whom it was proposed. But that had discovered that your accusation was nothing at all to the purpose, and so was prudently omitted. The Treatise hinted at, and under the disguise of which our Clergy are brought in to suffer as Favourours of such a Design, was an *Essay on Catholick Communion*, Written by a *professed Irish Papist*. Your Lordship, I believe certainly knew this, if so, the Concealment is an Argument of a spirit that wants a Name, especially when we see how it is turned against those who were entirely innocent of the Design. If this be the Method of Accusation, Write on my Lord, you can't do the Church a better piece of Service. There was a good Man who once said, *That he looked on Falshoods in History as the worst sort of Lying, both the most Publick and most Lasting, and still worse if persisted in after a Discovery.* The Grounds of History is

nothing but the Relation of *Matter of Fact*; and if that worthy Person who writ the former Sentence be still living, he is by his own Laws either bound to retract, or he is guilty of the Compliment he has made to incorrigible Historians.

The last thing I proposed is a review of the Character of which your Lordship gives your self, and your Friends. They are the *Watchmen who lift up their Voice like a Trumpet*; In this Similitude there is a bad, as well as a good allusion, which I wish these *Watchmen upon the Tower* would consider; Those Voices that resemble the Trumpet may be applied to inspire the Souls of Men with Hatred and causeless Resentments, to foment Divisions, and spirit up to Battel, while the Trumpeters sit safe, and secure from the danger of the Engagement. Well, but beside this, They *search into the Mystery of Iniquity, Hate Popery, and don't care to dress up the Worship of God like a splendid Opera*, and are Mortal Enemies to *Romish Priestcraft*. A great Character truly! That they agree with all Persons of comon Sense, who have had any Tincture of a good Education in the Principles of Christianity, as embraced by the Church of England. Their Duty

to

to Her obliges them a little further still, to search into the *Mystery of Iniquity* in both extremes, to discountenance *Schisms*, as well as *Papery*, if they don't like Religion in the splendor of an *Opera*, they ought not to swell it into the *Fury of Tragedy*, or sink into the Grimaces of a *Farce*; Political Craft mix'd with Divinity, is to be avoided on the side of *Geneva*, as well as *Rome*.

Farther, Your Lordship in a solemn Prayer wishes that they may resist even to Blood, striking against the *Man of Sin*, and often openly profess your self ready to Seal that Doctrine, which you have been Preaching now above Fifty years, with your Blood. It would really puzzle any Man who is conversant in your Lordship's Writings, for to tell what Doctrine you have been Preaching for these *Fifty years*; Contradictory Doctrines can't be both true, and which do you intend to suffer for? The Doctrine of *Martyrdom* is of the latest Date of any that I know of your Lordship's, and if you continue in that, no longer than you have in some others, *Farewell Smithfield*.

To conclude, my Lord, If I have examined the Contents of your Introduction with some freedom; your Lordship may reflect how much more you have indulged your self in the same Liberty, and that against Persons of as great distinction of Name and Character, as any B——p in the Nation. It had been easy for me to have gone deeper into the search of your Lordship's Conduct, and Principles; for I have now upon the Table before me a sizeable Volume, made up wholly of *Inconsistencies, Self-contradictions, and Mistakes*, which are

are to be met with in your Writings, all quoted from the Books themselves; with your own Name prefixed. But what need to labour, in the Proof of so evident a Truth? Instead of this, I only made some few marks, which naturally arose into my mind upon the Reading of your last Performance without any Constraint and Torture of your Words for a meaning, which, I must do you Justice, is commonly Plain and Obvious. That I have to say further is, that when the Son of any B ——— p in *England*, shall fit to give me vile Names, instead of Reason and Argument, if I thought there were Hopes of amendment in the Son; or of it in the *Father*, I would appeal to Him; but when no signs of either appear, it is my way to leave them abruptly.

I am

Your Lordship's

Humble Servant,

F I N I S.